000 maternal uncle and his nephew, and the importance of matrilineal kin.

853 862 The child is breast-fed by its mother until four or five years old. In case the mother gives birth to another child during this period, breast feeding will immediately stop and the child will be given corn cake and sweet potatoes like an adult.

854 567 867 It is one of the duties of young girl slaves to take care of the child. The Lolo make no distinction in their treatment of male or female infants, but the class line between black and white is clear cut. The adults usually call a certain child "black bone," that is, black Lolo, to distinguish it from "white bone" or white Lolo. The "black bone" belongs to the noble class while the "white bone" to the slave class. Therefore, as the child grows up, it gradually perceives the difference between black and white, or noble and mean.

857 The early years are the happiest period in a Lolo's life. Every day after the meal the child is free to come and go as he pleases, and to play in a group with neighboring children. Sometimes they go to the mountains to cool themselves; other times they play in the corn fields. By this time, the black Lolo

857 567 868 child has already begun to assume leadership over the white Lolo children of his age group, who would usually take orders from him. In poor white Lolo families, the children go to work with the adults and learn to tend cattle or to farm by the time they are seven or eight.

857 868 In the period between childhood and youth, boys and girls begin to be separated by the boundaries of sex in work and play. Black Lolo boys start to learn to shoot, to use a gun, and to pursue each other on horseback. Whenever clan feuds are fought, they all become excited and want to show off their skill. They form a small band of their own to attack the enemies and rob enemy property. Once their reputation for bravery becomes widespread, they will have hopes of becoming leaders in the future. On the other hand, girls' activities are centered around the house. They learn to sew and knit, to embroider, to assign work to household slaves, and in general to manage family property and affairs for their parents. As "female house managers" they have a high position in the family.

836 605 Young men and women are free to love and to have sexual relations provided they do not violate Lolo traditions, such as the interdiction on marriage within the patrilineal clan or intermarriage between black and white Lolo. Corn fields or thick grass on the mountain are suitable places for love-making, especially between cross cousins [48] because of their close kinship and the encouragement given by the family to cross-cousin

836 marriage. Therefore illicit love between cross-cousins is not
605 prohibited by society. As to the selection of mates, marriage procedure, the wedding ceremony, and other like subjects, these will be discussed in the next chapter.

591 When a woman marries, she goes to stay with her hus-
592 band. They have a small family of their own, living separately from the husband's parents and managing their own independent economic life. Upon the birth of a child, they themselves begin to assume parental responsibility.

527 The birthday of a Lolo man is not taken very seriously
574 until he reaches the age of forty. After forty, every birthday is celebrated with a feast for which cattle is killed and prepared for food. Relatives and friends come to congratulate
[431] him with gifts of wine and sweets, while his son-in-law, sister's son, and others present cloth or cotton goods. The guests are entertained with food and wine by the host during a most enjoyable evening for the family.

764 Death and burial has many complicated forms of cere-
181 mony, most of them related to religion and magic. The bur-
[614] ial ceremony is the occasion for the largest clan gathering and has a great influence on Lolo social life. As death and burial are painful to those who survive, the blood kin of the deceased seem to forget how to act and behave themselves after much crying and wailing; so the neighbors and relatives come to offer their condolences and sympathy, while the formality of the ceremony helps the blood kin to overcome their psychological block and to return gradually to normal life. In the course of time, the burial ceremony becomes conventionalized and its prescribed forms are followed generation after generation. For this reason, it performs the important function of achieving social solidarity and the stabilization of human psychology. Several years ago when an old Lolo of the En-cha branch died, thousands of mourners came from all over Liang Shan to pay tribute, and the event aroused a great deal of excitement. This represents an abnormal aspect of Lolo life and helps to establish equilibrium and make adjustments in their social system. It also shows the close interrelationship between the family and clan kin as well as larger social groups.

1/2 [Errata. Should be crisis — analyst.]

1: Lin E-5 (1943) 1947 AE4 Lolo AE4

[49]

CHAPTER 5

MARRIAGE

582 Lolo society offers no exception to the fact that the starting point of the family organization is the union of the male and female in marriage. Their social tradition gives rise to certain marriage regulations which govern the formation of kin groups as well as the relationship between men and woman in society. Some of the more important regulations are described below.

582 First, since the class system is strictly observed in
564 the Lolo community, there is absolutely no intermarriage between the black and white Lolo. In other words, they practice class endogamy. Black Lolo males can only have females of the same class; similarly, white Lolo slaves who belong to another class have to choose mates from among members of their own class. The social regulation as such is very
836 rigid, though natural instincts among the sexes may lead to
694 illicit love affairs on certain fortuitous occasions without due
564 regard to the regulation. Such offenses are heavily punished. Thus, when a black Lolo female has unlawful relations with a white Lolo male, both are put to death. The man is forced to commit suicide by leaping into a river or from a rock; the woman takes poison or hangs herself. Within the Liang Shan community, this punishment is enforced very strictly [though there are exceptions like the following]. In 1928, after Yang
836 T'u-szu of Lei-po had passed away, his wife, the daughter of
564 An T'u-szu of Sha-ma, who was then a beautiful and roman-
626 tic woman of twenty, cohabited with her house manager, a
558 white Lolo named Yang Shou-hsüan. Therefore she was despised by the Lolo, and according to Lolo tradition, both sides should be put to death. Nothing happened, however, because there was no t'u-szu in the district to enforce the penalty. Nevertheless, An T'u-szu of Sha-ma disowned her as his daughter, while the black and white Lolo in her household, no longer considering her as the mistress, all deserted her. Fortunately, the daughter of Yang T'u-szu, named Tai-ti, who is now twenty-two and knows a little about worldly affairs, has been able to restore somewhat the family fortune and prestige which have greatly deteriorated.

836 While intermarriage between black and white Lolo is customarily prohibited, an illicit relationship between a black 564 Lolo male and white Lolo female is tolerated. The children 848 of such a relationship are called "yellow bones," that is, offspring of "black bone" males and "white bone" females. The "yellow bones" are accepted by neither the black nor the white Lolo, and their social position is quite precarious. It is similar to the position of the mulattoes, the offspring of the White and the Negro in America.

582 Secondly, marriage within a Lolo clan is prohibited. 614 All marriages have to be [50] sought outside the clan. This is called clan exogamy. In Chapter 2, clan organization has been described in detail. Through a single-descendant patrilineal family, the Lolo are able to preserve the unity of the clan groups mainly through clan exogamy. According to their tradition, brothers and sisters have a ma dzz gni mo relationship and no marriage is allowed between them. This kind of brother-sister relationship is extended to collateral branches to include father's brother's sons and daughters and eventually all the males and females of the same generation [who are descended from males] within the patrilineal clan, all of whom are strictly prohibited to intermarry.

593 Within the Lolo family, brothers and sisters both grow up under parental protection. Their relationship is affectionate but formal, and licentious behavior between them is absolutely forbidden. Although love affairs are quite common among the Lolo, a brother should not flirt with another girl in front of his sister. Similarly, a man is not allowed to flirt with a girl in the presence of her brother; otherwise her brother would beat him, and their quarrel, once stirred up, might lead to a clan feud. Male and female members of the 602 same clan, between whom marriage is prohibited because of 614 age-old traditions, usually behave toward each other in accordance with a formal code of propriety.

582 Thirdly, since the Lolo have to select their mates from within the same class but outside the clan, what kind of family group is the best from which to seek an ideal mate? According to Lolo tradition, the ideal marriage partner is ego's cross-cousin; hence there are numerous cases of cross-cousin marriage. In Lolo families, if a girl's paternal aunt has a boy and the boy's maternal uncle is the father of the girl, then the boy's family has priority in sending a matchmaker to negotiate for the girl's hand. For this reason the maternal uncle dare not marry his daughter into another family. Likewise, the son of a girl's maternal uncle has the

595 wealthy families. Polyandry is prohibited in Lolo society; but because of their loose sexual concept, polyandry is sometimes secretly practiced. Young girls in their teens could have free
●[836] love and intercourse with young men, especially male cross-cousins with whom they disport and have fun. This will be discussed in more detail later on.

595 [55] Polygyny is often motivated by the political ambi-
557 tion of Lolo leaders who want to expand their influence through the connections of their wives' families. Hu Hsing-min, for example, was one of them. Considering that the influence of Li-ch'ü shih's branch alone was not strong enough for him, he also married Wu-ch'i shih to increase his power and status through connection with the Wu-ch'i branch. In a Lolo polyg-
595 nous family, wives have equal social status. They call each other sisters. Without regard to their own ages, the first wife is the elder sister and the second wife the younger sister. Each wife has a separate household and property, unlike the Han-Chinese, among whom wife and concubine stay together but have unequal social position. Before the Lolo man takes a second wife, he has to appease his first wife by offering her oxen or sheep, or sometimes a horse. He also has to reach
[607] an understanding with his wife's brothers by entertaining them with food and wine. Without their consent in advance, he may run into trouble and have disputes that will develop into a clan feud.

581 As a whole, these marriage practices not only regulate the Lolo's sexual life and their kinship and clan structure, but also their daily behavior and even their political and economic activities. The marriage relationship has the same importance in Lolo society as in other societies. Marriage is the biggest event and the most important transitional stage in life as a young man and woman go from love to marriage and from marriage to the establishment of the family.

000 Adolescence is the beginning of the sexual period, during which, no matter whether male or female, all are eager to act. But every society has its own traditions, and the behavior of the male and female is subject to their influence.
582 Lolo customs prefer early marriage. The woman's marriageable age is usually odd-numbered, the favored age being nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen, seventeen, and nineteen. During
302 her childhood the girl usually keeps her hair in a single braid
884 behind the head. At the time of marriage, she changes her hair style to two braids doubled up on the head. Therefore, a double braid and a single braid serve respectively as symbols of the married and unmarried women. But if a girl is

302 884 seventeen and still not married, then her parents will usually set a date to hold a ceremony for the girl to have her braid parted and doubled. During the ceremony they kill sheep, pigs, and other animals to entertain relatives and friends. It signifies that henceforth the girl has come of age and can have sexual freedom without interference.

836 Whether in a forest or thicket, whether beside the mountain stream or in wild fields, a young Lolo male and female could make love to each other. Provided that they do not violate marriage traditions, unmarried male and female could have affairs among themselves. This is especially true of cross-cousins who, because of their preferential marriage privilege and close contact due to kinship, could freely make love, and illicit affairs have always developed.

584 As a first step in marriage, the parents usually make the selection and then send a matchmaker to do the negotiating. Originally the matchmakers were mostly white Lolo slaves. If the paternal aunt or the maternal uncle has a daughter, matchmaking is fairly easy; there being mutual obligation on both sides, they dare not [56] make any commitment with another clan. After a mate has been chosen, the matchmaker [787] will get the consent of the girl's family to ask a pi-mu to match the horoscopes of the intended couple and to divine whether the marriage would be auspicious or not. If it is found to be unlucky, the matchmaker will not come back again. Sometimes, because of their kin relationship or because of the attraction of the girl's looks, the two families would disregard the result of fortune-telling or divination and proceed with the marriage anyway.

583 After both families have agreed to the marriage, the matchmaker then goes back and forth between the two to negotiate for the betrothal gift or money. The amount of cash to be paid by the man's family depends upon the family's financial ability. Generally, a black Lolo family pays a betrothal gift of from 500 to 700 or 800 ounces of silver. (At the time of the author's stay in Lei-po, one ounce of silver was equal to 160 dollars of Chinese national currency.) Sometimes the betrothal gift may be as much as 1,000 ounces. Because of their low social status, the white Lolo pay only 100 or 200 ounces of silver. For the daughters of household slaves who [567] accompany the mistress in marriage, no gift is necessary.

584 After the betrothal money is settled, then comes the engagement. First, the man's family sends the matchmaker and others of the household with gifts to the girl's family. At that time only a part of the betrothal money, usually about